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In the following studies of particular chants it will be seen that some were and some were not accompanied by dancing or pantomimic accompaniment. Early writers describe dancing and singing as sometimes alternating. (See 26, pp. 235-237.)

Only the most superficial account of the content of these chants can be given. Although they were studied with informants who gave all the assistance their limited knowledge made possible, it will require much time to make any approach to a clear translation. The text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u (Pl. II, F), who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* of Pua Ma'u. The old man was desirous that his granddaughter, who had learned to write at the Catholic mission school, should preserve his learning, which he, no doubt, knew would vanish with the rest of the customs and lore of his people. This woman and her husband, Peohai, who had also been taught by the old *tuhuna*, still know much of the meaning of the chants, but have also forgotten much. When anyone dies in the valley, Peohai still chants the funerary chants which were among those written in the book.

The Pua Ma'u story of the origin of the *pu'e* and *vavana* chants is as follows: Two fish, the *aku* and the *kokoama*, came up the stream that empties into Taha Uku bay and taught both chants to two ancient *tuhuna*, Manatu and Pupuke, who lived at Vevau. Thus it was that Manatu and Pupuke came to be the patrons of the *pu'e* and *vavana*. It seems that it was the *kokoama* that taught both chants—it is not clear what part the *aku* played. This story of the origin of the chants explains the practice of securing an *aku* and a *kokoama* before the *ko'ino vavana*. (See Creation Chants.) The fish were taken up to the chief's *tapu* bathing place in Pua Ma'u and there kept during the rite, being surrounded by a little picket fence. When the rite was finished the *aku* was eaten, while the *kokoama* was allowed to return to the sea, being left to make its own way back by way of the stream.

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Great chanting festivals, at which the sacred chants described below, were intoned with accompanying rites, were celebrated for various purposes by family groups, or in the case of chief's families, by the tribe. The occasions for such festivals were a newly completed canoe or house, the completion of the instruction of a son or daughter in these chants, or the arrival of a first-born heir. Such festivals, the central feature of which was the chanting of the creation chants, *vavana* and *pu'e*, were known, as *ko'ina vavana*, *ko'ina pu'e*. For the rite two special houses

were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house; all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

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796 again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

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869 When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and others to be mentioned were *tapu*, restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu* chants) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When [202] the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead. 536 ●

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted. 538

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *faiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *faia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*). 536

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god *Tai*. 537

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*ton'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the 532

346 rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called
 538 *ahu* (pile or mound).
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The sacred stone block or blocks, called *Tu-fatu* and *Hoa-fatu*, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

346 The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with
 538 which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been
 869 made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of
 823 carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it is the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tons pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *uvana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te 'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'shi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.

²¹ A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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Aboriginal Obscenities

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'u moeka

sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)

kio'e pe

"rotten or decayed rat"

'upoko pe

"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power)

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'o'o pe

"rotten or decayed brain"

to roro!

"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not downright Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

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Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentration on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Appellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

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There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other white ethnic groups.

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aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

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fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

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According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

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Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

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Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

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Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

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Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

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